20c MAY 19, 1952

CAN KEFAUVER BREAK THROUGH?—page 5

New Republic

If the GOP Wins . . .

WHO WILL LEAD CONGRESS?

An analysis of how the power will shift in the major committees if the Republicans control the House.

JOHN L. LEWIS' MIGHTY GAMBLE

The UMW Welfare Fund at stake

Reviews of

BOSWELL IN HOLLAND by Samuel Monk

CORNELL MUSIC FESTIVAL by Robert Evett

MAY 19 1952

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Letters

Democrats Dilemma

● What effect have the many charges and disclosures of corruption in government had upon the general public? Have the tax scandals and charges of Communism in government been combined in the public mind in such a manner as to give mass sentimental support to a "turn the rascals out" movement? It would be presumptuous for anyone to claim definite knowledge of the problem at this time; however, preliminary impressions are in order.

I am a Los Angeles County Deputy Registrar of Voters, and I registered almost 700 voters prior to the close of the registration period on April 10. A breakdown of this sample does not interest us here, for we are not concerned with the quantitative distribution of voters among the various political parties. But we are interested in the quality of response which accompanied the voters replies to our questions. The affidavit which voters give in order to qualify to vote in California includes a question on political affiliations. The voter can declare himself as "nonpartisan" or "decline-to-state," but most persons do state a political preference.

The Republican registrant stated his or her party affiliation with a spirit of militancy and determination, a sense of anger, a resolution to *win this election.* The Republican Party has been out of national power for so long that such replies are understandable and have been encountered many times before. However, what was striking about this registration period was the reluctance with which so many Democrats stated their political affiliation! . . . Variant forms of apology were offered along with the simple statement of party affiliation. . . .

Because of the disclosed corruption in government and the tendency of strong political factions (Taft-MacArthur) to wrap themselves in the American Flag and Morality, the Democratic voter is being compelled to decide along lines which are more intimately bound to basic values and more remote from "purely political" considerations. And yet, Democratic voters are continuing to register in accordance with their past affiliations, however apologetic and reluctant their verbal responses might indicate them to be. With ten exceptions, all of my registrants maintained their former political affiliation.

What are the implications of these findings? We submit that most Democrats are maintaining their ties with the Democratic Party because they really "have nowhere else to go." It will be the responsibility of the leadership of the Democratic Party to make "clean government" an important and salient feature of the party platform and the subsequent campaign. The party program must be an aggressive rather than a defensive and an apologetic one. . . .

Los Angeles, Calif. HARVEY B. SCHECHTER

"The Power of Righteousness"

● Justice Douglas' *The Power of Righteousness,* gave us a great thrill. Certainly he is one of those who understands clearly the tremendously fundamental. . . . political problems which face representative democratic government today. He should cinch the job by giving us the same sort of analysis of the "American Way," as it now exists in the United States. . . .

Madison, Wis. CHARLES DARWIN ROSA

The 1952 Campaign

● For some time I have become increasingly annoyed at the attempts of some of your readers to select a Presidential nominee for the Democratic Party. Just when I have come to the conclusion that every politically, mentally and physically infirm candidate has been advocated, somebody comes up with a new one.

In all this I see an attempt to dodge the problems which currently beset the Democratic Party. These are threefold: (1) To select a candidate acceptable to both North and South. (2) To select a candidate who believes in, and will energetically advocate and administer, the traditional New Deal—Fair Deal foreign and domestic policies. (3) To select a candidate who will effectively cauterize the myriad sores of the current Administration, and who can convince the public that he will do so.

Let us examine the field of candidates to see how effectively each one meets these problems. William O. Douglas . . . would not accept nomination. Paul Douglas . . . would not accept nomination. Richard Russell . . . is totally unacceptable to any truly liberal Democrat. He would accept the nomination, but I, like the majority of the Party, see no real reason for offering it to him.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey is not interested in the Presidency this year. . . . He is, also, unacceptable to the South. Kerr was, as *Time* said, only a 72-hour candidate: from the moment Truman said he wasn't going to run until the returns from the Nebraska primary came in. He would, in addition, be rejected by the liberal wing of the party. Truman himself won't accept the nomination. . . . Barkley is out of the question for obvious reasons.

Governor Stevenson would not accept nomination. As James Reston, Pulitzer winning New York *Times* man reported, "Stevenson found it difficult to convince himself that it was important that he should try to defeat . . . Eisenhower."

This survey of candidates can leave a loyal Democrat with but one possible conclusion: that the Senator from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver, is the only Democrat whose name has been mentioned in connection with the Presidency who is also able to solve the three problems facing the Party.

Why, then, this irresolution? Why this hesitancy and confusion? Why cannot the loyal supporters of such fine Americans as William O. Douglas and Adlai Stevenson face the facts of political life, and throw their support to the logical candidate, Kefauver.

NR, in its April 28 issue, finally came to this conclusion. They could hardly have come to any other. My only regrets are that they came to it with so much hesitation and so many reservations.

What the Party needs now, above all else, is unity. Kefauver is acceptable to all sections of the country and to all wings of the Party, with the exceptions of

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Pink Tooth Brush

Opponents said the addition of fluoride to water would be harmful and "un-American."

Truman Pierson . . . criticized the Minneapolis *Star* and *Tribune* in general and particularly for their stories on fluoridation, saying the papers are "pretty close to pro-Communist."—*From the Minneapolis Morning* Tribune.

The Age of Reason

Eva Peron is 30 today. All Argentine newspapers will suspend publication for the day.—*From the Washington* Daily News.

Washington Sun Squatters

"I would like to hear someone explain the necessity for this legislation [providing for daylight-saving time in the District] and who is demanding it, other than the golfers and mint-julep-patio squatters who like to preen themselves in the Washington, D. C., midnight sun."—Rep. H. R. Gross (R, Iowa).—*From the* Congressional Record.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

DO THE Democrats necessarily have to lose the election this fall? We know a man here who believes that any Democrat can beat any Republican. He argues simply that the GOP shows irresponsibility in everything it does, that the country is prosperous, and that there are more Democrats than there are Republicans.

Our man, we have to admit, is nearly unique. But we note a recent significant phenomenon here; the Democrats we know, who are mostly liberals, are beginning to be a little more hopeful —or, perhaps a little less gloomy. Up until now they have only permitted themselves to say that they *might* beat Taft. Now the Eisenhower shellshock, too, seems to be abating a trifle.

Is Ike's social philosophy really in keeping with the temper of the times? We note Paul G. Hoffman jubilantly predicting, May 8, that Ike's election will mean "giving business a bigger voice in government than it has had for 20 years." Well, well, well! Is that going to appeal to the voter? Does business really have its old Hoover prestige? Who is fighting for bigger tax loopholes? Who is blocking public housing? Who is trying to boost tariffs again? It is business. The US Chamber of Commerce has just advocated omitting all foreign aid this year; can business be trusted on the international front?

Nothing irritates Ike's liberal supporters more than to be told that their man is well to the right of Taft. It is true the two candidates see eye to eye on off-shore oil; here they agree in wanting to turn this incalculably rich federal possession over to private exploitation, in the same cheerful spirit of free enterprise by which half the giant Sequoia trees were lumbered for matchwood. But Ike goes beyond this. In speeches at Columbia University, as Richard Rovere points out, he opposed all federal regulation of business saying private enterprise could "prevent or correct abuses" in its own system; he expressed views on industrial relations that must worry any trade union; he deprecated the wage-earner's emphasis on social security, commenting that "the best example of perfect security is a man serving a life term in a federal prison." Yes, we think Hoffman is right. Under Ike business would have more say. And the capital of the nation would probably be back in Wall Street where it used to be.

The Federal Reserve Board and the President's Economic Council are thinking about deflation as much as inflation. A new cycle may lie ahead. Our industrial capacity is such that we are getting more butter (in some lines) than we can absorb. What happens when Korea is stabilized, when rearmament is complete, when peace breaks out? This may be the biggest domestic problem of the next President. Capitalism has never solved this problem. Up to now it has taken a war to produce full employment.

Congress isn't going to pass the viciously anti-union Smith bill at this session, just before the election. But the bill is a red light to labor, warning of what may lie ahead if the GOP gets back in control under a "business administration." The lengths to which these anti-union bills go and still get serious consideration in a responsible agency like the House Armed Services Committee is terrifying. This one seems to be the product of hysteria. It would handcuff labor from striking under certain circumstances and throw the offending union into public receivership. Labor's stake in this election can't be overemphasized.

Some years back Congress passed a good mine-safety bill and then left it up to the states to enforce it. The result

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THE WEEK

"PUBLIC" PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

In several predominately Catholic counties in Missouri, public funds are being used for parochial schools in violation of the state constitution and numerous state and federal court decisions. The Missouri constitution specifically states that "No money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect or denomination of religion, or in aid of any priest, preacher, minister or teacher thereof. . . ." Despite this, the state has paid thousands of dollars in salaries for nun teachers and for school supplies in various counties of Missouri during the past decade. Catholics have obtained control of school boards, and, as they did in Osage County, hired nuns, many of whom were not fully qualified for instruction but received emergency permits which are renewed each year. When a Catholic "public" school is organized, all public-school children are moved into the parochial school unless the public-school building is a better building and close to the church. Rent is paid for the use of the parochial school while public buildings are left vacant or sold.

Religious education in such schools is given before or after regular school hours, but non-Catholic students must arrive early or stay late in order to use school buses. The "public" parochial schools declare holidays and excuse children on religious anniversaries. Religious films, Bibles and other materials are paid for with public tax money.

On April 22, Circuit Judge Emmett Crouse ruled that public-school funds could not be used to support Catholic-owned schools in Franklin County, Mo. The suit had been filed by seven Franklin County taxpayers who charged that the use of public funds for three schools owned by the Catholic Church violates the state and federal constitution provision on separation of church and state. The children attending two of the schools were being taught by nuns. The court ruling did not affect the third school where children are instructed by a Catholic lay-woman. As a result of Judge Crouse's decision, the Sisters of Notre Dame have announced that they will withdraw nuns as teachers, although the case is being appealed.

A similar suit, now awaiting trial, has been brought against state officials who are giving public money to Catholic schools in Jefferson City, Mo. The Missouri Association for Free Public Schools, a group of independent citizens who raised money to file the suit, charge the public officials with failure to uphold the constitution, the formation of irregular (gerrymandered) school districts (giving Catholics a majority), and other violations of the law.

While "released-time" religious instruction, recently upheld by the US Supreme Court, is a relinquishing of taxpayers' school time to the churches, many educators feel that the actual handing over of public funds to private schools is a much greater danger to the freedom of education.

LOOSENING CREDIT

The Federal Reserve Board, following loud clamor from television and washing-machine manufacturers and some labor unions, has finally removed the consumer-credit controls which it imposed on the time-payment structure soon after Korea. Until the beginning of the next inflationary spiral, consumers will be able to mortgage their future earnings to their hearts' content. With "soft spots" evident in many sections of the hard-goods industries, increased public spending would make almost everybody happy, unions, retailers and tax-collectors. Washington economists, however, are skeptical that greater credit freedom will cause much readier spending. Wall Street, which registered only a slight upward flutter the day after the FRB announcement, seemed to agree.

Ironically the credit relief to civilian industry comes as most politicians are practicing their fall rhetoric about "how long can we keep up this aid to foreign countries and armaments without ruining our economy? While the present surplus of supply over demand is tied to the buying public's changeable psychology, which must be guarded against by maintaining the controls in full reserve, the plenitude of hard goods in the stores does serve to explode the mythical fears of the economic conservatives. The US in the summer of 1952, history will show, was moving into the high level stage of its armament program with a plenitude of butter and more washing machines than all the finance company representatives could unload "on time."

A GERMAN RED ARMY?

The picture of fratricidal war in the Korean manner has now been thrown on the German scene by Otto Grotewohl, the East German Premier, who is the Kremlin's chief propaganda lever in its effort to prevent the political and military integration of West Germany. Uttering rapid-fire threats with apparent abandon, Grotewohl last week announced the formation of an East German army to counter the planned West German contribution to the European army, and even before that pronouncement had a chance to take full effect followed it up with the declaration that Germany was about to duplicate "the same conditions that existed in Korea."

Western diplomats, concentrating on getting the long-postponed German contractual agreement ready for Dean Acheson's scheduled initialing in Bonn on May 20, have dismissed Grotewohl's threat as largely bluff. They reason correctly that their chance of tying Germany into the European organization is now or never. The next several weeks will probably be *the* crisis period for the effort to integrate Germany. The pressure on Chancellor Adenauer is terrific. Playing alternately on the prospects for German unity and German civil war, the Communists are trying desperately to bring political tensions

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in the Bundestag to the breaking point.

The prospect for the actual creation of an East German army is, however, to be sharply distinguished from Grotewohl's threatening image. For the Russians' creation of a rival German army would be a measure of very last resort. They would profit little from it. Unlike the West they have plenty of manpower to draw on. Setting up German contingents would mean spreading their arms thinner, empowering the untrustworthy Germany, while provoking serious morale difficulties among the other satellites. If their present all-out attempt to force a Western retreat fails, they may well decide to postpone their German divisions until their creation would serve a more decisive function.

ATTENTION, MR. CANDIDATE

Presidential aspirants would be wise to study a recent survey by Elmo Roper whose 200 interviewers have completed a poll designed to find out what the people consider the most important problems facing this nation today. Roper found that although concern about the Korean War still tops the list, there has been increasing interest in domestic events. Six months ago, the people mentioned international problems over domestic ones by a five to four margin; now the ratios are exactly reversed.

"Public anxiety over the cost of government, the rate of government taxes and spending," Roper said, "ranked well down the list back in January. Now, it is number two and is singled out by 27 out of every 100 people." The high cost of living and fear of inflation is next in the minds of people. Although government statistics do not show any recent upward spurts, people complain that "it's hard to make ends meet." "As far as they view things, prices haven't stopped rocketing," Roper said.

The danger of a third world war, the great debate about foreign policy, the outcome of the 1952 Presidential race, the question of Communism here at home, foreign-aid expenditures and labor-management disputes are among the 12 top issues currently worrying the American people. Number 11 on the list was the subject of civil rights for minorities.

INDUSTRIAL SPRING FEVER

Industrial unrest, a normal manifestation of spring as the contract-opening season gets under way, has precipitated a rash of excitement as Congressional committees have set to work on more restrictive legislation to handle industry-wide strikes and the Sureme Court of the United States has opened hearings on the legality of President Truman's seizure of the steel mills.

The strike of upward of 100,000 CIO, AFL and independent union oil workers, united in a joint effort for the first time in history, has moved into its third week. The unions, after postponing the walkout three times, are striking for a 25-cent-an-hour wage increase plus shift differentials. Recent union settlements with three small firms for 18 cents plus an agreement with Standard Oil of California for 18.5 cents have given rise to hope that these figures may eventually prove a basis for settlement.

The dispute has not been assigned to the Wage Stabilization Board by the President, but a plea by Board Chairman Nathan Feinsinger to the strikers to return to their jobs was turned down by O. A. Knight, president of the CIO Oil Workers, who charged that the back-to-work request had negated a possible settlement with Standard Oil of Indiana. The 22 unions and some of the 75 struck companies are now meeting with Feinsinger to survey possible grounds for settlement.

Oil shortages are being felt in some sections of the country, but the unions, in meetings with Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg, have agreed on procedures to keep oil flowing to our armed services. "We made it clear when the nationwide oil strike began," Knight said, "that we were not striking against the public and certainly not against the armed forces."

On another strike front, negotiations between the AFL Commercial Telegraphers and Western Union have been resumed under the offices of Federal Conciliation Director Cyrus Ching following a warning to the Company from Sen. Edwin Johnson (D, Colo.), Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, to quite stalling. The 36,000 Western Union workers walked out April 3 seeking a 16-cent-an-hour wage increase and a 40-hour week with 48 hours' pay. Partial company operations have been resumed, although the union maintains that from 90 to 95 percent of the strikers are still out.

Western Union, CTC officials charge, is using the strike to fight grievances which have no relation to their employees. Among these are efforts to wipe out the special tax on communications, halt competition from the federal General Services Administration in the telegraph field and transfer TWX services from telephone facilities to Western Union operations. Settlement of the strike could hinge on these issues.

Meanwhile two House committees were hard at work planning more labor legislation. Members of the House Education and Labor Committee, in the throes of its investigation of the Wage Stabilization Board, were startled last week by former Mobilization Director Charles Wilson who displayed limited and contradictory knowledge of the entire steel-wage case, finally urging that the WSB be stripped of its disputes function as provided by the pending Dirksen amendment to the Defense Production Act.

The House Armed Services Committee is conducting hearings on a proposal by Rep. Howard Smith (D, Va.) which provides that either the President or Congress, by joint resolution, could direct the Attorney General to seek an injunction in national emergency strikes. If the strike still threatened after the 80-day injunction period, both the union and industry would be placed in receivership. "Under these provisions," CIO Vice-president Joseph Curran told the committee, "employees would have little incentive to agree to proposals of their workers, since their workers would be forbidden forever to strike. This provision for an injunction of indefinite duration is thus equivalent to abolishing collective bargaining."

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CHURCHILL UNDER FIRE

FOR THE FIRST time since he became Prime Minister last October Mr. Churchill has run into serious political trouble. It began with the local elections before Easter when the Tories took a severe beating, particularly in London. It continued with new Socialist victories early in May. It was significant that in Lancashire, where the textile depression has caused widespread unemployment, the county elections returned a Socialist majority for the first time in history.

In the House of Commons, Labourites were openly jubilant. Their own dissensions are temporarily forgotten as they engage in a relentless effective campaign to confuse and demoralize a hapless government front bench. The change in atmosphere is remarkable to anyone who witnessed the tremendous personal triumphs which Mr. Churchill secured immediately after his return from Washington. Labour's tail was down with a vengeance then, and not even Mr. Bevan's vigorous yelps concealed the Party's discomfiture. Now it is the government which is on the defensive, the Conservatives who are disunited and angry with their leaders.

There are two principal reasons for the sudden transformation of the political scene at Westminster. The first is the obvious one: the Conservatives came to power in the middle of a dangerous economic crisis, unpopular measures were essential, and the succession of cuts, controls and higher prices which followed were bitter medicine to those who had fondly imagined that one puff of Winston's cigar would blow away Britain's troubles overnight. The Tory propagandists had largely themselves to blame for this. They never explained the true cause and nature of the country's economic difficulties to their supporters while they were in opposition, preferring the simpler expedient of blaming everything that went wrong on the follies of "spendthrift Socialism."

"If only," they used to say, "Lord Woolton were in charge of our food supplies as he used to be during the war." The wish found a sympathetic echo in countless middle-class, middle-aged British stomachs. Lord Woolton himself, in the role of Party organizer during the lean years of opposition, actively encouraged this mirage of peace and plenty. The beautiful economic simplicity of spam and eggs (dried) beneath the umbrella of Lend-Lease apparently escaped him. In a famous pre-election broadcast he was even rash enough to hint at an abundance of "red meat" under Tory rule. Today the British housewife's weekly allowance from her butcher averages from six to eight ounces per person, and supplies from Australia, Argentina and Europe are still dwindling.

Unpopularity of this kind, however, has not taken the more intelligent Tory leaders by surprise. They always expected that the government would have a rough time to begin with, and they were confident that it could ride the storm for two or three years in the expectation of clear skies and calmer seas in 1954. They may be right, but the political barometer is swinging so violently just now that it is difficult for them to retain that air of unruffled serenity which is considered *de rigeur* among British Conservative politicians under fire.

The second reason for the government's discomfiture is less publicized. It springs from the personality of its leader, Mr. Churchill himself. As everybody knows, Mr. Churchill is an individualist. He has very little liking for most of the trappings of modern bureaucratic government—advisory committees, press conferences, public relations and so on. One of his first economies was to dismantle a large slice of the government's information services. But it soon became clear that if ever a government needed to explain its policies in words of two syllables, it was this one. For the Tories have the double talk of undoing their own previous propaganda and then re-casting, in a new, revolutionary but doggedly Conservative mold, many of the basic themes propounded by the late Sir Stafford Cripps.

This, the government has conspicuously failed to do. Despite the extension of the Christmas vacation (ostensibly granted in order that departments could sort themselves out of the Socialist rut and plan ahead) the only Ministers who have vouchsafed a reasonably clear-cut policy in the domestic field are the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. R. A. Butler, and the Minister of Housing, Mr. Harold Macmillan. Agriculture, food, health and transport are all at sixes and sevens. Legislation is delayed, policies confused or still in abeyance. It is not surprising that the Labour Party is exploiting this state of affairs in order to postpone as long as possible the unscrambling of socialized steel and road transport.

Critics have not been slow to point out that the Ministries where confusion seems to be at its greatest are precisely those over which Churchill has set up "Overlords" or "Co-ordinators." The Overlords in question are Lord Woolton who has charge of Food and Agriculture and Lord Leathers who takes under his wing the Ministries of Fuel and Transport. Both men were trusted members of Mr. Churchill's wartime administration but, like Churchill himself, it seems that both are finding peacetime administration a much more arduous and certainly more complex task.

In 1942 the whole of the government's energies were directed to the single aim of winning the war. Nothing else mattered. Finance was a secondary consideration. There was no opposition in the House of Commons. Many people believe that by attempting to employ the same methods and, in many cases, the same men that won the war Mr. Churchill is making a mistake which may have incalculable consequences in the future of his government.

London, Eng. MICHAEL CURTIS

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RIDGWAY TAKES COMMAND

THE CANDIDATE most Europeans favored for General Eisenhower's post at SHAPE was General Gruenther. Opposition to General Ridgway was strongest on the Left in France and most articulate on the Right in England. The London *Economist* writes that there was

> no role in Supreme Headquarters for a fighting commander fresh from the battlefield . . . [with] a tight-lipped look and a grenade strapped to the shoulder . . . unless the official appreciation of the risks of war in Europe has lately changed.

Yet in the period just before and just after the Ridgway appointment the tune changed. The new commander at SHAPE was hailed almost with enthusiasm in England and generally accepted in those Left and vaguely anti-American circles of the Right in France where his advent had only weeks before been contemplated with misgivings.

Although the reasons in the two countries for the remarkable about-face are different, they have something in common. Both seem to be connected with a sudden realization that Ridgway may after all be the best man to head SHAPE in the next European phase.

The British decided that, after all, they were pleased by the Ridgway appointment because Lord Montgomery can stand up to him—as he could not to Eisenhower—and continue to play, in the words of the *Economist*, "the role of whip and spur to the allied forces and their defense ministers." Meantime, Eisenhower's other role—that of the military politician—can gradually be taken over by Lord Ismay who, as an Englishman in the confidence not only of his own countrymen but also of the Americans and West Europeans, can begin to bridge the gap between American and European conceptions of European desirabilities and possibilities.

Under Lord Ismay, there is a chance for NATO to gain practical ascendancy over SHAPE at a time when political considerations may be more important than the military. The next phase in Europe coincides with a period in which Americans are likely to be too deeply involved in their own domestic political affairs to face and cope with the changing realities of the European politico-military situation, and in which the Administration in Washington, never notorious for the flexibility of its policies and practices in Europe, will probably be more rigid than ever.

It is undoubtedy true that many Europeans share Professor Arnold Toynbee's opinion that the American Presidential election is more important to them than the evolution of the domestic political affairs in their own countries or their own continent. On the other hand, the next six months or so may be crucial for Europe in terms of the setting up of the pattern, not for war in any near or foreseeable future, but for a troubled peace over a period of years. European interest in the American election, according to Toynbee, derives from the new principle of "no annihilation without representation." Europeans are primarily concerned not merely with whether or not the Americans may elect an isolationist but also with whether or not—in the Professor's words—"you elected a man who pressed the button."

The Russians are fully aware of the opportunities given to them by the relative disinterest of the American people in Europe, and even more by the inability of the American Government to shift its policies in ways that might puzzle, hence alienate voters. Their trade offensive is intended to exploit such opportunities. While they preach East-West trade, the Japanese and Germans are moving into European markets in South Asia and Latin America; the United States Tariff Commission is considering higher tariffs against European goods in the American market. And though Secretary Acheson protests, the government can do little in an election year to prevent American free enterprise from playing the Communist game.

Some of the French—and general Western European—friendliness toward Ridgway is moreover based on the second thought that he may not share Eisenhower's zealous crusading enthusiasm for the present American *form* of Atlantic co-operation. That, they believe, may be an advantage. For the Russians are already playing domestic politics in Western Europe, seeking and mobilizing support for *their* European strategy which has changed, while American policy seems likely to remain frozen in an old mold of Trumanism.

There is a steadily growing chorus of demands in Western Europe that the West call the Soviet bluff on Germany. If the British at NATO, the Europeans through NATO, can influence the Americans in that direction, the chances of important Soviet political successes—while the Americans watch the candidates on their television sets—will be lessened. Very many Europeans want a serious effort to be made, and quickly, to find out whether the Russians are really bluffing.

For even if they are bluffing, the Atlantic pattern may acquire fatal inner weaknesses at the very moment when the formative treaties are being signed. Chancellor Adenauer was undoubtedly trying to head off Kurt Schumacher's bid for power in Germany when he said a united Germany would not be committed to the acts of Bonn. Yet the statement was nevertheless a major event in domestic French politics too, and in European and world politics.

In Europe, General Ridgway will find that the problem of building a position of strength lacks the simplicities (and also the over-simplifications) he left behind in Asia. Japan is our second-best ally because China seems lost to us. But France, our second-best ally in continental Europe, and indeed most of Western Europe too may be alienated from us if we do not find the means of facing the new Soviet strategy about Germany. The problem of the part or the whole—Bonn or united Germany—is as important to us as the identity of the next American President is to the Europeans.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE MIGHTY GAMBLE OF JOHN L. LEWIS

by Richard Malcolm and Henry Coates

As JOHN L. LEWIS prepares the 1952 contract demands of his United Mine Workers of America, he faces a dilemma of his own creation in determining the royalty increase he will seek for the UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund. The fact confronting Lewis is that the Fund must raise its revenues another 125 percent before it will be financially and actuarially sound. Although royalties have climbed from five cents to 30 cents a ton since 1946, a royalty of 68 cents on each of 400 million tons of union-dug soft coal will be required to meet eventual pension and welfare costs of $272 million a year.

The far-reaching social effects of the Fund's services on the lives of the nation's 400,000 miners may well be overshadowed by the revolution that this staggering cost will cause in the industry during the coming decade. America's coal operators face the choice of meeting these payments by reducing costs through modernization or seeking relief through government subsidies or outright nationalization. The coal industry cannot afford to continue its practice of passing along higher costs to the consuming public after adding a 50 percent mark-up if it hopes to remain competitive with oil, gas and, perhaps, atomic energy.

Such far-reaching consequences were not generally anticipated when Lewis began his quiet revolution in 1946 by winning a five-cent-a-ton royalty in an agreement signed with Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug who was operating the mines in lieu of the owners during a period of government seizure. Although Lewis had asked for a 10-cent royalty in 1946 with the optimistic assurance that it would be adequate to provide $100-a-month pensions at the age of 60 to all miners with 20 years of service, he was willing to accept five cents in order to establish the royalty principle as a method of financing his welfare and pension program. The operators acknowledged, however reluctantly, the validity of royalties by increasing the amount to 10 cents in 1947, 20 cents in 1948 and 30 cents in 1950.

Lewis is now under obligation to gain higher royalties to expand the welfare program and to provide fully funded pensions. Although he will probably continue raising the royalties in piecemeal fashion in negotiations for a new contract to succeed the current agreement expiring June 31, he is aware of the eventual costs which increase during each year that he delays placing the Fund on a financially sound basis. Lewis publicly disclaims any desire for a "funded pension plan."

Development of the Fund's services has been hampered by law suits, operators' refusal to meet their royalty obligations and periodic work stoppages and short work weeks. Despite these handicaps, Lewis has established during the six hectic years of the Fund's existence $100-a-month pensions at the age of 60 after 20 years work; special medical, surgical and hospital treatment for extreme cases of illness, both for miners and their dependents; a spectacular program of treatment and rehabilitation for paralyzed miners; preliminary plans for construction of 10 regional hospitals, and a greater measure of security and hope for the nation's soft-coal miners who work in the country's most dangerous industry and live out their lives in almost universally drab and submarginal areas.

This progress has been made in spite of a financially inadequate Fund necessarily operated on the hand-to-mouth method of meeting current expenditures with current revenues, and instituting new projects with extreme caution. Pensions and other benefits have been summarily cut off when the solvency of the Fund was threatened by lack of income. The miners' experience has proved that the fatal weakness of a "pay-as-you-go" pension plan lies in the fact that expenses rise as the group covered grows older and increasing numbers of persons are retired.

The Fund's present annual revenues at 30 cents a ton amounted to more than $129 million in the fiscal year 1951, which seems like a tremendous sum to pay for medical, welfare and pension benefits for 400,000 miners. But expenses run high for a variety of reasons. Pensions are costly because Lewis has given the miners the best pension enjoyed by any group of industrial workers, and the age of the miners as a group is higher than that of most other workers. The Fund's welfare program is the country's first attempt to bring modern, commonly accepted American medical standards to our isolated coal towns. The *Medical Survey of the Bituminous Coal Industry*, conducted in 1946-47 for the US Government shows the need:

In "Coalvale," USA, many of the sore spots, the decrepit houses and the disease-bearing privies that were the despair of earnest reformers earlier in the present century, have persistently survived. That they are anachronistic in

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a day that boasts innumerable testimonials to the march of science tends to intensify the reality of the deficiencies. That they exist in shocking contrast to modern, sanitary, well-maintained communities stigmatizes not only the backward coal-mine operators but the whole industry.

As far as it has been possible to determine, there has never been a comprehensive program, or even any program at all, for rehabilitating the disabled within the bituminous coal industry.

On the accident rate, the report added, "in soft-coal mines, both strip and underground, during the five-year period of 1941-45, there were, according to the Bureau of Mines, an average of 1,120 fatalities and 50,300 injuries a year."

"If it is custom and tradition that mine families shall exist in squalor, it is time for that custom and tradition to be abolished," the report concluded.

The accidental death and injury rate is unbelievable to a public that is only occasionally aroused by a Centralia or Orient disaster. The toll in the nation's soft-coal mines is a steady, day in and day out occurrence with an average of seven miners killed a day and 300 injured in routine coal and rock falls. Disease and illness and disability from accidents runs higher in the coal-mining communities because medical facilities are inadequate or non-existent. These factors foretell a welfare program that will be initially costly and in which expenses will always run above costs in plans for other industrial workers.

A year after pension payments were started, the Fund ran into financial trouble. The three-day work week of the summer of 1949, haggling delays over contract terms and recurring work stoppages encouraged many operators to discontinue royalty payments. The trustees temporarily suspended pensions, disability benefits, widows' and orphans' assistance and medical and hospital service, except in emergency cases, in September, 1949. Before stability was restored to the coal fields by a new contract signed in March, 1950, calling for higher wages and higher royalties, Lewis and his miners had been charged with unfair labor practices, restrained from striking by court injunction, and ordered to cool off under Taft-Hartley procedure. The Fund was reactivated in April, 1950, but benefits were not immediately reinstituted. Death benefits were resumed in May; pension payments in June, and medical and hospitalization services in July.

The latest contract between Lewis and the operators on January 18, 1951, was achieved without "social convulsion" in the pits, but it did require some fast footwork on the part of mobilization officials to excuse the miners from wage regulations then being put into effect. The contract, expiring June 31, 1952, called for a straight 20-cent-an-hour wage increase with no royalty increases.

The uneven history of the Fund indicates that it could not have operated on the scale it has maintained if it had been providing benefits for the full period of its existence. Lewis has spent the revenues of six years in something over half that period of time. As a result, benefits over this relatively short period could be generous without threatening the immediate solvency of the Fund.

Lewis played a hoax on the miners and the operators because he knew the goals he wished to achieve. He created formal pension benefits that he and the trustees can discontinue without notice. He set up elaborate and detailed welfare, hospitalization and medical programs that can be curtailed with a minimum of notice. His gamble has been successful because the miners hold the operators responsible for the breakdowns in benefits that have occurred.

The Lewis pension plan gives the individual miner no vested interest in the Fund. The check that he receives this month may not be followed by others. He has no recourse because the trustees are the sole judges of disbursements.

In a funded pension plan with vested interest for the individual, the worker has a guaranteed sum set aside which is specifically designed to finance his pension for his full life expectancy. A funded plan requires more initial revenue than the open-end type that Lewis is currently operating. He is letting the future take care of itself, but the necessity for an actuarially sound plan with a vested interest for the annuitant is mounting every day. What will it cost to put the miners' pension fund on a sound basis? The operators estimated in December, 1947, that the cost of $100-a-month pensions at age 60 after 20 years service would be $240 million a year. This rather accurate prediction makes it obvious that the operators are under no illusions as to the eventual claims Lewis intends to make.

Other unions have fully funded pension plans in which the costs are not as prohibitive, but they are lower only because of the lower age level in the non-mining industries and the considerably smaller pension benefits received in comparison with the mine plan. The average cost of the $100-a-month pension for a miner who survives to 60 is estimated at $18,000. The cost of the average industrial pension for a worker reaching the greater age of 65 is only $5,300. The latter's monthly pension amounts to only $37 although he does have the assurance of guaranteed payment in a funded plan. The age factor shows that in the soft-

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coal mining industry 56 percent of the workers are 40 years old or older, while 60 percent of the workers in other industries are under 40. These factors will make the financing of an actuarially sound pension for the miners more expensive than the open-end system appears to be. However, costs under the present system will mount annually as more miners reach retirement age. Eventual costs will be staggering in comparison with an actuarially sound plan that is fully funded.

For there are features of a standard, non-contributory welfare plan which the miners have not yet won. They include:

Death benefits of a year's earnings in steel and auto, and 150 percent of annual wages in some contracts. (Miners receive $1,000.)

Sickness and accident benefits of $30 to $40 a week for 26 weeks.

Hospitalization for the worker and his dependents, averaging $10 a day up to 70 days.

Hospital expenses varying from $80 to full payment.

Surgical payments varying from $175 to $300.

Medical payments for the doctor's in-hospital visits in about 25 percent of contracts, amounting to $4-$5 a day up to 70 days.

The most spectacular and widely publicized project of Lewis's welfare plan has been the treatment and rehabilitation of paraplegics, miners paralyzed by back injuries. Despite its commendable accomplishments, it is only fair to point out that this project was not started until four years after the Fund was created. Miners, who had been bedridden derelicts in isolated shacks, were removed from public or private charity and placed in modern medical centers. Some 900 miners have been treated and rehabilitated to take their place in society in a trade they were taught. The only criticism has been the lack of funds to loan these rehabilitated men so they can launch their businesses.

This project is apparently a Lewis favorite because he speaks fervently of the necessity to treat the injured and maimed miners.

> Hadn't we better preserve the miners we now have? Hadn't we better give them the necessary medical and surgical attention they need . . . so why not preserve these men in a capacity to serve? If the industry must grind up 340,000 men's blood and bones in some form or other in a five-year period to furnish coal, then the industry should pay the cost of providing for these men and their dependents. Let the industry stand on its own feet. If it needs men, let it pay these men what that service is worth. Let them provide protection, hospitalization, rehabilitation, modern medical attention with a choice of doctors and decent treatment to which every citizen is entitled.

The miners agree with these sentiments because Lewis's free-handed operation of the Welfare and Retirement Fund at a rate above its income has shown them what benefits they can receive when adequate funds are available constantly. Lewis has added another emotional hold on the miners' affection and loyalty which has never wavered in the crises of the past.

The miners' ringing support for the pension plan is not inspired by any desire for sympathy or hope to escape the danger and toil of mining. During the first year of the pension fund's operation, only nine percent of the miners retiring did so because they were eligible to do so. Thirty-four percent applied for pensions only after being laid off by companies for which they had worked for as long as 60 years; the remainder sought pensions after being disabled for further work in the pits.

Lewis has the unswerving support of the miners who have the sympathy of the public because they toil in dangerous, but necessary, work and live out their lives in substandard communities. Lewis has pressed them into a powerful force that has caused upheaval in the nation and brought higher living standards and social change to the coal towns. In accomplishing his objectives, Lewis has made revolutionary changes in the industry itself inevitable.

Achievement of funded pensions and improved welfare services will not be made without struggle and sacrifice by the miners, but there seems little possibility that Lewis will retreat from the goal he has set for himself and the miners. He knows where the royalties can be obtained. Probably not this year, but in the future, Lewis will demand—and the miners will win—the 68 cents a ton, or more, that may be needed to maintain and improve the Fund's services.

One of the long-range effects of Lewis's pioneering will be to set the pattern for industrial pensions and to encourage legislation to provide such benefits to vast numbers of people. The monetary effect of large pension funds will depend on whether the union decides to invest in government bonds or such projects as housing for its members.

Lewis is fully aware of the effect these costs will have on the industry, and he has skillfully argued that "the mining of coal in great volume at constantly reducing unit cost is essential to our economy and is essential to the nation's future welfare." Labor costs and the Fund's royalties are rushing the industry toward its decision. The industry's response to Lewis's challenge will determine whether America's twentieth-century coal operators will revolutionize through modernization and greater efficiency or by submitting to government subsidy or ownership.

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If the GOP Wins . . .

WHO WILL LEAD CONGRESS?

I know not how better to describe our form of government in a single phrase than by calling it a government by the chairmen of the Standing Committees of Congress.—Woodrow Wilson

PART I: THE HOUSE

AMERICAN newspaper editors and publishers, when surveyed in the course of their annual national meetings recently, in the overwhelming majority expressed the belief that 1952 is "a Republican year." The Washington press corps, which guessed as wrong as the editors on the outcome in 1948, has voted similarly in informal polls. Most of the leading politicians in both parties, when voicing their sentiments very privately, agree that if General Eisenhower is the GOP nominee, the Democrats will finally be retired.

What would this mean besides a change in the White House and the Cabinet?

What would it mean to Congress—and, first, specifically to the House of Representatives?

The present House line-up is 233 Democrats, 201 Republicans and one Independent.

The key to control of the lower house in the 83rd Congress probably lies in the outcome in 179 "doubtful" or "marginal" Congressional districts in 36 states — the seats which were won in 1950 by election margins below 60 percent. There are 80 "marginal" districts — those which incumbent House members won in the last election by between 55 and 59 percent of the total vote—30 of which are now held by Democrats and 50 by Republicans. The "doubtful" districts—won by less than 55 percent of the vote in 1950—are the prime targets of both sides. Ninety-nine Congressional seats now fall into this class; 43 have Democratic incumbents, 55 are held by Republicans and one by an Independent.

The districts which are customarily won by 60 percent or more of the votes constitute the rock-bottom strength of both political parties. The Democrats have 160 such constituencies, the Republicans 96, making 256 House seats which are unlikely to change.

The fact that 20 states will have undergone Congressional redistricting, based on the 1950 census, before the 1952 election introduces a new factor this year. The net result of redistricting, students of these actions have found, has been "in most states to make the Democratic districts more Democratic and the Republican districts more Republican," thereby producing fewer "doubtful" districts in these states in 1952 than there were in 1950.

But political analysts find that the party winning the Presidency usually gains about 25 more House seats than it would win in a non-Presidential election year. On that basis, election of a Republican President should produce Republican control of the House, since a net loss of 15 seats would cost the Democrats control of the lower body.

The character of a Congress is formed by its standing committees. "Congress in session," as Woodrow Wilson wrote, "is Congress on public exhibition, while Congress in its committee-rooms is Congress at work." And the chairmen of the major committees, as Wilson emphasized in the quotation heading this page, are the major legislative forces in American government. If US citizens vote to shift party control in the 83rd Congress, they will make measurable changes in the calibre of Congressional leadership. The following pages compare the dominant figures in the present House with those who would come into control with the Republicans. In each instance, the editors have indicated by a (+), a (—), or a (?) whether in their opinion the shift would be for the better, for the worse, or represent no important change.

Next week the New Republic *will report on "Who Will Lead the Senate?"*

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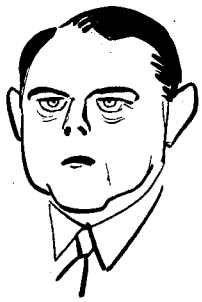
HOW POWER WILL SHIFT IF THE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS (—)



Prospective head of the decisive House Foreign Affairs Committee in event of a 1952 GOP victory is a Chicago *Tribune* protégé, Robert Chiperfield of Canton, Ill. He would replace the very effective James Richards (D, S.C.) by virtue of the retirement of the current ranking Republican, internationalist Charles Eaton (N.J.). Chiperfield, the silent type, spoke up in the House a total of nine times during all of 1950. On one of those occasions, in February, 1950, he rose to state that "it seems absolutely futile to build up Korea." He voted against Point Four, against Far Eastern aid and against extension of ECA. In fact there is hardly a major international issue he supported. He went on record against the DP Bill, the Mutual Security Act and the loan to India. Chiperfield has taken so little part in foreign-policy discussion, that some of his colleagues on the committee don't realize he is in line for the chairmanship. John Vorys (Ohio) and Walter Judd (Minn.) have been far more forceful GOP spokesmen, and both broadly support the Administration's European policy. Badly informed, Chiperfield would likely drift with the dominant Republican tide, following Robert Taft.

APPROPRIATIONS (—)

With economy in government as one of the great GOP campaign promises this year, control of the House Appropriations Committee would give the Republicans a chance to carry out the arbitrary budget cuts they have attempted, many times successfully, in the past. Appropriations would be in the hands of Rep. John Taber (R, N.Y.), whose reputation for slashing the appropriations of government departments has gained him the name of Republican "ax-man." During the 80th Congress, when he headed the committee, he hired a staff of highly paid utility company auditors to investigate public-power agencies with the hope of exposing great waste of the taxpayers' money. Taber, along with Rep. Ben Jensen (R, Iowa), would be able to scuttle or greatly cripple such government programs as anti-trust enforcement, public housing, public power, and agricultural service by simply cutting off the appropriations of divisions within government agencies.

EDUCATION AND LABOR (?)

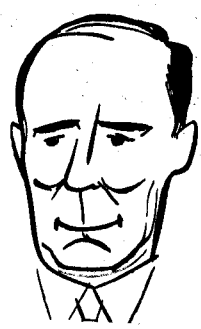
Rep. Samuel K. McConnell Jr. of Pennsylvania, former investment banker and relatively little-known member of the House since 1937, would assume the chairmanship in place of North Carolina's Dixiecratic Graham A. Barden. McConnell has normally opposed Administration efforts on such issues as social security, minimum wage and Taft-Hartley. His record, however, is no worse than Barden's who has been rigid in his opposition to organized labor. McConnell, liberal committee members feel, would compromise on wage-hour amendments, Taft-Hartley and FEPC. He does oppose general federal aid to education which Barden supports. In the 82nd Congress, Administration supporters could only muster nine committee votes out of 24. Under McConnell they would do no worse.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE (?)

Strict party partisanship rarely enters into the decisions of this committee. Rep. Charles A. Wolverton of New Jersey, a middle-of-the-road Republican, would supplant Ohio's venerable Robert Crosser, the grandaddy of much of our railroad labor legislation. Wolverton, in recent years, has shifted his role from that of staunch backer of many special interests to that of an independent type of New Jersey Republican liberal. Railroad labor finds him co-operative.

ARMED SERVICES (—)

The next watch-dog over the nation's defenses may be Dewey Short, the boisterous Missouri hill-preacher who leads the shouting and yelling at GOP get-togethers. In contrast to the incisive "Uncle" Carl Vinson, the prospective GOP chairman is less than a lightweight. Perhaps the least reconstructed of the prewar isolationists, Short voted against the draft as consistently in 1946, '48 and '51 as he did in 1940 and '41. He heads the "know nothing" group that votes against military-aid appropriations one day and shouts against the Administration's lack of preparedness the next, but his lack of personal stature would probably prevent his playing a decisive role in shaping policy.



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REPUBLICANS WIN THE HOUSE

RULES (—)

By far the most powerful committee in the House, the Rules Committee has the authority to accept or reject bills that are ready for consideration by the House. Because of a long-standing Republican-Dixiecrat coalition on the committee, so many vital measures were being blocked that the House in 1949 finally adopted a rule permitting any standing committee chairman to call up a bill if the Rules Committee had not acted upon it after 21 days. Without such a rule the National Housing Act and other important legislation would not have been passed during the 81st Congress. Last year, however, the House by a vote of 243 to 180 restored the "gag rule," over the violent objection of Rep. Adolph Sabath (D, Ill.), chairman of the Committee. Sabath and three Administration Democrats—Madden (Ind.), Delaney (N.Y.) and Mitchell (Wash.) have actually been the minority members of the committee since Republicans Allen (Ill.), Brown (Ohio), Ellsworth (Ore.) and Latham (N.Y.) are consistently joined by Southern Democrats Cox (Ga.), Smith (Va.), Colmer (Miss.), and frequently by Lyle (Tex.). Allen, who will be chairman in a GOP Congress, and Brown, have bitterly opposed public-housing legislation, all price-control measures, and resources-development programs.

WAYS AND MEANS (—)

The philosophical kernel that holds Republicanism together is an old-fashioned hatred of taxation. In a GOP 83rd Congress, control of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee would fall to the oldest Republican House incumbent, Rep. Daniel Reed (N.Y.). Elected in the first conservative sweep after World War I, Reed has carefully nurtured his principles. It was under his leadership that the Republican 80th Congress stimulated inflation by irresponsible tax-slashing. On March 15 of this year Reed promised that if voters helped him take over the committee from Rep. Robert Doughton (D, N.C.), and his liberal Democratic heir, Rep. Jere Cooper (D, Tenn.), he would cut back taxes to, at most, pre-Korean levels. Reed would also eliminate excess-profits taxes, continuation of which is likely to be the first major issue before the committee in 1953.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (—)

Since the reign of J. Parnell Thomas, who took over the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the GOP-80th Congress, the Republicans have had firm control of this committee. Rep. John Wood (D, Ga.), chairman during the past four years, was unable (and perhaps unwilling) to control the Nixon-Mundt publicity hunt. When those two graduated to the Senate, the mantle of minority leadership was passed on to Rep. Harold Himmel Velde, a Chicago *Tribune*-type Illinois Republican. An ex-FBI sleuth, Velde has aspirations to catapult into public prestige through the Committee as Nixon and Mundt did

JUDICIARY (—)

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.) has won the reputation of being the most ardent anti-monopolist in Congress. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Celler and his staff of economists have exposed big business bottlenecks in the defense program, the newsprint monopoly and the "fair trade" lobby. He fought for a liberalized immigration bill and federal ownership of submerged oil lands, among other major issues before his committee. A change in Administration would place Rep. Chauncey Reed of Illinois at the head of Judiciary. Reed strongly favored the state "give-away" oil measure and, along with other Republicans, led the fight for the big pharmaceutical interests on the fair trade issue.

BANKING AND CURRENCY (—)

Congressional spokesman for the powerful real-estate lobby, Michigan's Jesse P. Wolcott would replace steady Administration supporter Rep. Brent Spence of Kentucky, as chairman. Wolcott, one of the key figures in the campaign to scuttle price and rent controls in the 80th Congress—and weaken them in succeeding Congresses—will undoubtedly assume a similar role in the new Congress. He has been most active in his fight to kill all forms of public housing and to extend choice bonanzas to contractors, builders and real-estate operators. Wolcott and associates may be expected to use the Defense Production Act and the Federal Reserve Board as screens to mold the economy more to their liking.

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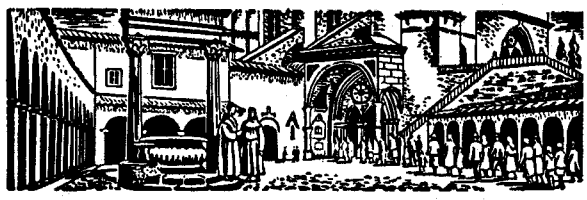
THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE TO CAPTURE ROME

by Robert Shearer

IF AMERICANS this spring have even a moment to spare from their own Presidential preoccupations, they should turn to the march of events in the historic city of the seven hills.

On the 25th of May, Rome's electors go to the polls to choose a new municipal government. The propaganda battle between Communists and Catholics has already reached heights of the bitterest invective. There is a real possibility that the Communist Party may take over the municipal government in this city which is the seat of the Pope, and the center of a great and vital nation of the North Atlantic Alliance.

These Rome elections may be shaped by a protest movement that dominates part of central, and all of southern Italy. Disturbing stories have reached the Italian capital of how the impoverished peasants in the South are likely, in the hope of bettering their almost intolerable economic conditions, to swing violently away from church-supported Christian Democracy and cast their votes either for the extreme Right, which is the new Fascism, or for the extreme Left of Communism.



Last summer, it is true, the Communists were swept out of control of a number of northern cities like Genoa, Florence and Milan. The non-Communist parties rejoiced at their victory, although the left-wing vote was up to 37 percent as compared with the last election in 1948 when it touched 31 percent. The Government Party vote on the other hand was down to 39 percent in 1951 as against 49 percent in 1948. Victory in the north last year was possible for the Catholic Party only by allying itself with other non-Communist groups like the Republicans, the Liberals and the Social Democrats. This "apparentamento" as it is called caused the Communists to surrender control of 714 municipalities. But the Stalinist Party was no whit dismayed by the results, which indicated a steady advance in its popular vote, despite the Marshall Plan and Church excommunication of the Communist Party leaders.

Moreover, even conceding that the Communists have made no headway since last year, the votes which the Catholic Party is certain to drop next month are not going in the direction of any reliable political group. As the center groups break up and extremists gain, the new Fascist group and the Monarchist Party are likely to make the most spectacular gains along with the Communists. If this should happen Admiral Carney at his headquarters in Naples may soon be sitting in the midst of administrative bodies and mobs vehemently anti-American in practice and concept.

The neo-Fascist movement has made some spectacular gains, coming forward from a mere 120,000 supporters in 1948 to close to half a million last year. Public-opinion polls now give the Fascists 10 percent of the electorate, and with their monarchists allies they are bound to make a brave show in the immediate future unless the government takes steps, often projected, to outlaw the movement once and for all.

Obviously the prestige rebounding to the Communists in the event of their winning control of the Rome municipal government would be immense. Out of 80 seats in the council they now hold 28 and are the strongest single group. The Catholic Party has 27 and by linking up with the other smaller parties the Catholics have contrived to run civic affairs for the past four years. But the threat from the Left is very real.

The Vatican, true to its tradition of remaining aloof from the political arena, is saying nothing directly about the danger, but orders have gone out which are bound to have some impact on the political conscience of the voters. A tremendous drive has opened to "Christianize" Rome. The city has been divided for house by house canvassing by high-ranking churchmen and by lowly friars. They go from door to door inquiring of the inmates, "How is the spiritual health of this family?" Lantern lectures with slides depicting scenes from the life of Christ are now a nightly feature of Roman life, with the broad white-washed side of a church used as a screen. Audiences have been mostly women.

The Communists are trying to counter this psychological pressure—for such it is—by challenging the priests to open debate where all can listen and make up their minds. The Left dreads the potent power of the confessional where they claim the women are

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instructed under threat of dire penalty to vote for "non-Communist" political candidates.

The Vatican is receiving powerful support in the political field from the six million member strong Catholic Action organization, the church's lay arm, controlled and dominated by a bitter zealot called Luigi Gedda. This Roman professor of medicine is now all but estranged from Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi, although they are both devout sons of the Church and working to ensure its salvation and its supremacy.

Cleanshaven, ascetic and handsome, Gedda has no patience whatever with the political temporizing that distinguishes de Gasperi. Gedda wants to force the way to political stability in Italy with the weight of a single unified Catholic Party, which will be inspired by only two purposes—dedication to the destruction of Communism as a political force and homage to the social ideas of the Vatican. Gedda is the type of man who can bring this country close to civil war, if his power continues to increase, because it is fairly obvious, in a very confused picture that the Prime Minister has lost much of his support.

The only sure way of holding down the Communists and keeping the prize that is Rome out of their grasp is for the other parties to do what they did last year—unite in face of a common danger and gain another respite for four years. That however seems impossible.

Both the Monarchists and the Fascists are gaining strength. The Republicans and the Social Democrats categorically refuse to have any alliance with these groups even to defeat the Communists. "Apparentamento" this time will be a thing of shreds and patches, varying from municipality to municipality, with all parties except the Social-Communists often running on their own individual tickets.

If there is no union against the Communists in the Eternal City, the Communists and their allies may well gain 30 to 35 councilors on the new administration. Should they reach 40, there will be a shout of joy from the Kremlin and the Via delle Botteghe Oscure which will rock the chandeliers in government offices far north and west of the Vatican. It will mock General Eisenhower's optimistic statement that "the outlook for the West is brighter today than it was a year ago." It will lead to the most far-reaching realignments in the structure and purposes of NATO.

The circumstances leading up to the siege of Rome by the Communists are many and varied. Perhaps no government could have done any better than de Gasperi has done. Yet the people are far from satisfied. And both in May and at the general political elections due within a year, they will demand a change.

"Do you know that there are thousands of people in this city," one man put it to me, "who can hardly put a crust of bread on the table? And yet we have a Prime Minister who has just got a new villa at Castelgandolfo and who has voted pay increases for himself and his ministers. Pay increases! The rest of us get nothing but taxes."

Thousands of people too are living in Rome in caves, barracks and outhouses. Apartment buildings are springing up like mushrooms, but are immediately bought up by private capital, which lets them out at rents ranging from 100,000 to 300,000 lire a month, which is two to six times the monthly pay check of the laboring classes. A lot of new churches are building too, which the Communists have exploited by correlating both government and church in a program "which shows not one vestige of Christian charity for the poor."

There is too much poverty in this city and too many people. The few rich there are, are resentful at the passing of the House of Savoy. They look back nostalgically to the monarchy when life had more grace and charm than it has now. They will do nothing to promote social welfare; they block all land reform. They had to be pointedly reminded by Pope Pius himself very recently that "if they wish to survive into the future, they must co-operate with the new order of things." Yet they put up blind resistance to all reform. When they are told that if they don't yield something they may lose everything, they answer: "The United States will not permit the Communists to win in Italy."

If the Romans could be persuaded tomorrow that the Italian Communist Party would be something different from Kremlin rule, they would go for it without question. The Italians don't want Stalin in Rome. Party headquarters concede the strength of that feeling by saying that if "Communism comes to Italy, it will be Italian Communism suited to the psychology of the people." Whether or not reasoning men are influenced by this propaganda it is clear that this citadel of Catholicism is showing signs of pointing up the economic side of life and seeking a balance as between it and the claims of religion, which hitherto have been dominant. Bishop Fulton Sheen's aphorism that "the rich need the poor more than the poor need the rich" has a slightly hollow ring for Romans today. And they are acquainted with the aphorism.

The truth of the matter seems to be that Rome is facing crisis because the standards of living of the people are too low and the struggle for existence too hard. If there is a solution, it does not lie alone in NATO's military shield.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE GOOD SOLDIER

BOSWELL IN HOLLAND 1763-1764, edited by Frederick A. Pottle (McGraw-Hill; $6).

LAST YEAR, by virtue of the publication of the London *Journal* Boswell became for the fourth time in two centuries a best-seller. It would be regrettable if the commercial publication of his private papers should make him succeed in our age for the wrong reason—in this instance as an absurd character who provides amusing pornography for less adventurous people. The present volume, more sober in tone than the London *Journal* and by no means scandalous, may test the true interest of the general public in Boswell, for it records his most consistent attempt to form for himself a fixed character, which he hoped habit would make permanent. Fortunately for us, unfortunately for him, he failed at last and became a great writer.

Shortly before leaving London to study law at Utrecht, Boswell wrote to himself: "Be reserved and calm, and sustain a consistent character. . . . So when you return to Auchinleck, you'll have dignity." To attain these qualities required a violent alteration of his own nature through an act of will and self-discipline that was truly heroic. He was never again to be steadily sober, chaste, and industrious. His Dutch friends remembered him as an engaging and philosophical, if odd and romantic, young man. But he paid a frightening price for this reputation.

On arriving in Utrecht he immediately collapsed into a melancholy so profound that he "ran frantic up and down the streets, crying, bursting into tears. . . ." In the following spring the malady recurred, afflicting him with terrifying dreams, promptings to suicide, and insipid lethargy. With unusual reserves he concealed these symptoms from most of his friends and took part in the social life of Utrecht and the Hague; but his daily memoranda reveal his inner tensions. The Utrecht character was achieved and held together precariously over the abyss.

On April 9, 1764, he wrote to a friend:

> Black melancholy again took dominion over me. . . . I was much worse on this account, that after my first severe fit on coming to Utrecht, I really believed that I had conquered spleen for ever, . . . I had my dull hours. But I considered myself as a soldier. I endured such hardships; but I kept my post.

This is courageous; and it is characteristic that his gaiety and social charm shine brightly through the gloom. This soldier was fighting worthily under the command of the Rambler. It is well to remember Boswell's human dignity, lest we patronize him as merely a comic, though gifted, man. He was a rake, but in Pope's phrase, he was the "most thinking rake alive."

Mr. Pottle has reconstructed Boswell's daily life in Holland (the journal was lost soon after Boswell returned from the Continent) by skillfully selecting from a mass of papers: daily memoranda and notes, verses and Dutch and French themes that Boswell wrote as a regular morning task, letters to and from friends, and the remarkable correspondence between Boswell and Isabelle de Zuylen and her family. He gives us a consecutive narrative quite different in quality from the London journal or the great journals of the *Private Papers*. We miss the unobstrusive art and the dramatic detachment of Boswell's finished diaries. But we have a book that is fine in its own way: the raw material of a complex life lies open to us, set down in immediate and informal languages.

Though this is, so to speak, an anthology, Mr. Pottle assures us, perhaps unnecessarily, that marks of omission do not indicate bowdlerization. After all this is a commercial edition. How far the text is from being bowdlerized is indicated on page 357, where a letter from Zélide's brother is shortened by omitting his remarks on the quarrel between Rousseau and Hume (which very much concerned Boswell) though nearly half a page is given over to an account of his slow recovery from veneral disease. A curious choice. It is conceivable that even in a trade edition an obscure Dutchman's reflections on one of the great literary scandals of the period would be more interesting than his struggle against the pox. In the projected research edition this, and perhaps other imbalances, will be corrected.

SAMUEL HOLT MONK

SARTRE'S UNDERGROUND

INTIMACY, by Jean-Paul Sartre (New Directions; $2.50).

"THE UNDERGROUND," since Dostoevsky's *Notes*, has been so familiar a concept to the modern consciousness, that we now take its reality and our thorough knowledge of it for granted, and assume that it is a major source of our literature. That this is not the case, even a cursory examination of the writers most concerned with this theme, first among whom is Sartre, will show. Our acquaintance with the underground owes little to experience (I am speaking as an American) and less to contemporary fiction; we have had to rely on journalism, the reports of political refugees and occasional sociological studies. The latter, in fact, are far in advance of fiction on almost every ground: observe how abruptly the confidence that our literature is in touch with life gave way, in most circles, to a reflex of astonishment at the Kinsey Report. The proper condition, in which literature leads the social sciences and furnishes their insights, is, for the time being at any rate, a thing of the past.

To some extent flattery deceives us on this topic: we like to imagine ourselves underground, living at a perpetual extreme, and we seize on every aspect of our age, its disorder and violence, amorality and unbelief, which confirms this estimate. We achieve by this means a passive heroism, to which romantic periods are prone, esecially when the active modes promise little success. But

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there is still another way in which we deceive ourselves—this is a fundamental error and its cause lies in our predominant style of perception into human matters. We are used to seeing a subject through its individual accidents; we call on biography to give the direction and pursue the unique and the aberrant to such an extent that almost all understanding has become a form of psychopathological analysis. This has put a high value on confessions, disclosures of the private life and its feelings, usually revulsions, which earlier ages have found neither interesting nor tolerable. The tone of very much modern writing is, accordingly, one of *malaise.* But we are so accustomed to it, we are seldom aware of it as such; and when we do take this *malaise* into direct account, we readily mistake it for what it is not—a report from the underground.

These statements are confirmed both by Sartre's imaginative work and the reception it has had. The greater part of his fiction, nearly all of *Nausea* and most of *Roads to Freedom,* is constructed precisely in a way to allow his characters to proclaim and act out their disgust with life. The symptoms are the standard neurotic ones—contactlessness, the emptiness and superfluity of existence, the sexual miseries and perversions, violence and self-destruction. But because Sartre is an existentialist, and because he himself resorts to existentialism for some of his special effects, we assign to these symptoms a meaning they do not bear in the text, and could not possibly carry in any clinical evaluation. Neurosis becomes the equivalent of life. The ordinary syndromes, which we would otherwise discount to sickness, become on this inflated interpretation synonymous with subjectivity, crisis, anxiety and other existential categories, and we read as ontology what we should recognize as disease.

And so much that is supposed to represent the underground world comes not from the world at all but from swamps of the soul, in which modern life breeds pestilence in all of us. This distinction is crucial. Without it, it is impossible to develop the literary theme, for the underground, if it is to be represented as a world no less real and objective for underlying the one we inhabit in daily life, must be separated from everything which is merely subjective in feeling. The only way this separation can be made is by the method of residuum. I mean by this that one must discard everything which can be explained by psychology and other individual or social perspectives that stop short of the absolute extreme. Once this removal has been made, the residuum, if any, is what we may properly call underground. (The same must be done with religious belief—religious and underground morality are identical in this respect—to make sure it is genuine and not a mere displacement of anxiety.) Neurosis no more entitles one to call himself an underground man than it does to call himself a saint.

But this caution is seldom observed; and in the present collection of five of Sartre's stories it is never in evidence. Consider the title story, "Intimacy," which is about a frigid woman with a screaming abhorrence of sex, who has replaced her impotent husband with a lover; urged by her girl friend, she leaves her husband and prepares to run off with her lover, but at the last moment, unable to tolerate sexuality, she stands up the healthier man and returns to the impotent one. This story, it seems to me, is simply about a frigid woman. To take it for anything more than this, to suppose that it dramatizes "the crisis of modern marriage," or anything equally ambitious, is to run to that same gratuitous extreme under which *malaise* appears as moral philosophy. Obviously, the fact that there is sexual disorder in our world is not enough to make it an underworld—unless you establish this story as a norm and argue that the state of affairs shown in "Intimacy" is the constant and inevitable condition of love in our time. Not only would such a conclusion be false for the everyday world (which is not that bad), it would be a pollyanna-like distortion of the underground, which ought to be something much worse (sexual neurosis is remediable). To take such a story as "Intimacy" as a note from the underground is, then, to remove all meaning from the underground, which becomes, on such a misreading, nothing more than a duplication of the world we already have. Who needs *two* such worlds?

Two other stories in this collection, "The Room," a study of madness, and "Erostratus," of homicidal mania, fall under the provisions I have been making—they are to be regarded as stories dealing with no more than their several themes. The detachment, the philosophical scope, above all, the objectivity which would justify their being regarded as valid generalizations of modern experience in its most disordered aspect, are either entirely lacking, or present only in minimal degree. Yet if we unpin Sartre's fiction from its metaphysical pretensions and let it go free, it gains enormously. He has exceptional zest for a writer of *malaise*, and his documentation, taken for what it really is, has moments of fictional density and detail that are worth much more than all the rest. He is at his best in his attachment to ordinary life, when he gives up the exploration of depths which his fiction cannot reach; and in the realm of the ordinary, he is most at home in politics. The two remaining stories, "The Wall," and "The Childhood of a Leader," are based on political experience, the first being the account of a prisoner in the Spanish Civil War awaiting his execution by the Falangists, and the second, the coming to maturity and participation in reactionary politics of a young French anti-Semite. These stories are the most successful in existentialist terms—"The Wall," in spite of a trick ending in which the prisoner wins a reprieve, for its vivid anticipation of death, and the other, after a shaky beginning in a ludicrous Freudianism which Sartre may have meant to be satiric, for its build-up of a dead ego through an accumulation of social roles; but their success, I should say, is not nearly as dependent on philosophical principles as it is on the fact that the objectivity of their reports is never in doubt. Here there is no difficulty in defining the world of which Sartre speaks; he has by-passed the swamp and the definition comes to him on the solid ground of political reality. Now his subject is something more than his own distemper. And so, if I may

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draw a moral, it may be in every case; one need not strain after the effect, one need only write of political experience, and the writing will sound with the full underground tonality, for politics is the underground of our time.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

EXPANSION NEVERTHELESS

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY, by Dexter Perkins (Harvard University Press; $3.25).

THE HISTORY of American foreign policy has to a distressing extent been left to the antiquarians and apologists. There has been very little intellectual penetration, search for basic principles and clarification of general problems. Under the impact of the Cold War and of the rise of a new, realist school of foreign policy, a number of otherwise reputable scholars have gone to absurd lengths to prove that American foreign policy has never been tarnished by the blemishes of imperialism, conquest, intervention, violation of treaties, and the like, with which the history of the other nations is replete. These mythologists have one major obstacle to overcome; how did it come about that the thirteen original states developed, within the span of less than two centuries, into a continental power whose lines of defense run on the Elbe and on the shoreline of Asia? To pretend that this unparalleled process of expansion has come about through the consistent application of benevolence to foreign affairs is certainly to let one's naiveté and chauvinism get the better of one's judgment and the uncontestable facts of history.

The truth of the matter is that rarely has history witnessed a more relentless drive toward expansion, more oblivious of risks, and more ruthless in brushing obstacles aside than that of the United States. The Westward expansion of the US would have been impossible without the violation of the treaties guaranteeing the Indians their land. And thus those treaties had to be broken. As Andrew Jackson put it: "I have long viewed treaties with the Indians an absurdity, not to be reconciled to the principles of our government." What distinguishes American expansion from the expansion of other great nations is not a greater respect for law and morality, but fortunate circumstances which allowed us to use more rarely and more unobtrusively the traditional methods of war and enslavement. The territories which we coveted were either sparsely settled by aborigines who succumbed to the disintegrating effects of Western civilization or were owned by European powers who had neither the interest nor the resources to maintain their possessions. When, however, economic, military or political pressure was not sufficient, we did not hesitate to go to war.

The persistent attempts to apologize for this history and to make it appear as something different from what it actually is are the strange symptoms of an atrophy of political common sense and of a cancerous growth of sentimental moralism. I have never felt any need to apologize for the growth of the American republic, or to rewrite American history to fit the preconceptions of a political nursery school. I glory in the ascendancy of America over her enemies, as the Israelites gloried in their victory over the Philistines, the Greeks in theirs over the Persians, and the Romans in the downfall of the Carthagenians. As long as the expansion of American power means the expansion of freedom and opportunity, all mankind might glory.

It is unfortunate that the present book carries on its jacket the caption: "A provocative analysis answering those who charge the United States with imperialistic designs." For actually these lectures, delivered by Professor Dexter Perkins at Upsala University, are happily free of apologetic tendentiousness and, it may be added, of the antiquarian bent. Since Professor Perkins addresses a foreign audience, he has the perfectly legitimate purpose of making American foreign policy appear in the most favorable light, but he does not attempt to gloss over its harsher features. This is a wise, urbane and mellow book. It is also a cautious book, especially when it ventures to develop hypotheses and to state general principles. Thus when facing the awe-inspiring phenomenon of American expansion to the Pacific and beyond, Professor Perkins refuses to pass judgment:

> We are dealing with process rather than with principle; with the urge of a great nation to enlarge its sphere of influence and of activity. The page has been written, and cannot be recalled; and once the conquest of the American continent has been completed, it was natural, perhaps [if the word has any meaning] inevitable that the American people should begin to look beyond their borders, and seek to play a greater part on the stage of the world.

Professor Perkins is on less sure ground when he endeavors to develop "a cyclical theory of American foreign policy," dividing American history into a series of relatively short periods, alternating between peaceful and warlike tendencies. The author arrives at the tentative conclusion that "the rise of belligerent feeling . . . seems to coincide with economic disturbance, or rather, with recovery from economic disturbance." Hence, "if changes in the economic mood . . . tend to generate changes in the political mood, then it is possible that if we iron out the oscillations in the economy, we shall at the same time be tending toward a more peaceful era." Professor Perkins is very careful to surround this conclusion with all kinds of qualifications and in disclaiming anything like finality for it.

It seems indeed obvious, as it is with all economic interpretations of political processes that the establishment of such a simple correlation is as suggestive and intriguing as it may be misleading. For political mood and action have many psychological roots, of which the effects of economic conditions are only one. And certainly neither the history of American foreign policy, nor that of any other country, would show an exact correlation between a certain political mood and political action, on the one hand, and certain economic conditions, on the other. One might well say that economic normalcy, under certain conditions, may make for a tendency to let well enough alone in foreign affairs. But then would not, if such normalcy has lasted long enough, political leaders and the masses alike look for some excitement, for some new challenge to be met, some new risks to be taken, and might they not

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then turn to foreign adventures?

Yet whatever the value of such hypotheses may be, there can be no doubt that this book is an extremely valuable contribution to the understanding of the distinctive character of American foreign policy. If the students of the University of Upsala still don't know what American foreign policy is all about, it is certainly not Professor Perkins' fault.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM

CRITICS AND CRITICISM, edited by R. S. Crane (University of Chicago Press; $6).

CRITICS AND CRITICISM is a collection of twenty essays from the writings on critical theory and method of "a group of friends who came to know one another at the University of Chicago in the middle thirties and who have since carried on, in numerous conversations, the exchange of ideas on these and related questions which began at that time": R. S. Crane, W. R. Keast, Richard McKeon, Norman Maclean Elder Olson, Bernard Weinberg.

Only six of the essays are new, but the volume, reinforced and illuminated by Mr. Crane's liberal introduction, presents for the first time a complete picture of the "Chicago school", with its strong adherence to Aristotelian methodology and its strong set against the "New Criticism."

The first essay of the book, its opening wedge, so to speak, is an attack on I. A. Richards, written in 1939 by Mr. Crane and reprinted from *Ethics*, January 1949. In the overall dialectic of modern criticism, this essay should be paired with John Crowe Ransom's more thorough treatment of Richards in *The New Criticism* (1941); both Crane and Ransom attack Richards' exclusive psychologism, but Mr. Ransom, for whom the making of poetry is a central concern, is in a far better position than Mr. Crane to define the positive creative effect on poetry itself of Mr. Richards' critical ideas. After Richards the principal other figures used by the Chicago critics to define their opposition are: William Empson, Cleanth Brooks, Robert Heilman (for his study of *King Lear*) and Robert Penn Warren (in his essay on the *Ancient Mariner*). These "new critics" are all similarly charged with an over-subtle interest in rhetorical detail, leading them either to neglect or misinterpret the meaning of the work of art as a concrete whole.

Over against this misguided preoccupation with linguistic detail of their opponents, the Chicago critics set up an Aristotelian methodology intended to be particularly adapted to an examination of poetic works as "concrete wholes"; but the Aristotle "reconstructed" for this purpose is to be distinguished not only from the Aristotle of the Renaissance and neoclassical commentators but from "any of the more recent Aristotles of such interpreters as Butcher, Bywater, Murray, Lane Cooper, or Francis Fergusson." In the present volume, the chief burden of this reconstruction of Aristotle is carried by Mr. McKeon in a very valuable series of synoptic essays dealing with Plato's concept of imitation; Aristotle's concept of language; rhetoric in the Middle Ages; poetry and philosophy in the Twelfth Century; and philosophic bases of art and criticism from Plato to the present.

There are also two or three interesting pieces of actual criticism of "concrete wholes," but the reader of the volume may learn that the basic difference between the "Chicago school" and the "New Criticism" lies mainly in the fact that the good work of the "Chicago school" tends to shape up into a *summa* or encyclopedia of criticism, whereas the good work of the "New Criticism" tends to shape up into poetry itself.

If there is something seriously, and not merely formally, wrong with the "New Criticism," it is, as Mr. Blackmur suggests in his splendidly churning essay, "The Lion and the Honeycomb," that the New Critics have also become "methodological"; and if this is true, it may mean that modern poetry itself is tending to become methodological in the same pejorative sense; it is curious that in this same essay Mr. Blackmur suggests that Mr. I. A. Richards himself might well turn to Aristotle.

Out of the general controversy come, I believe, two salient indications: a revival of Greek studies in many different aspects (not only of course in the form of Aristotelianism, but as, for example, in Mrs. E. R. Dodds' recent volume of lectures, *The Greeks and the Irrational*); and, along with the revival of Greek and as a kind of corollary to it, a revival of interest in larger poetic forms—notably the drama. These two combining interests are well represented in Mr. Francis Fergusson's "Idea of a Theatre," especially in his analysis of the *Oedipus Rex* and in his discussion of Aristotle in an appendix, where he remarks that "most contemporary theory—whether of art or of knowledge—leaves no room for the notion of action or the imitation of action." But the proof that these really are major directions, shaping toward the making of a new poetry, must as yet be sought in many scattered bits of evidence.

RUDD FLEMING

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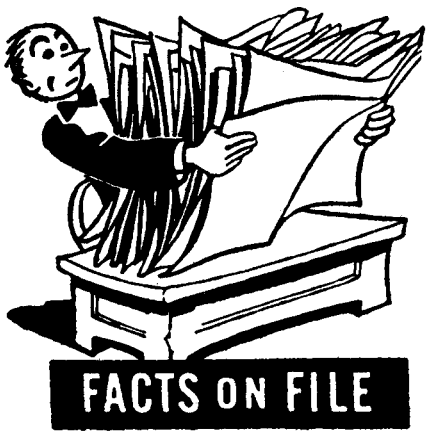

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MYTH AND REALITY

EL CAMPESINO: LIFE AND DEATH IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Gonzalez and Gorkin (Putnam's; $3.50).

CAMPESINO was the most brutal of the Spanish Loyalist generals, and the most uncontrollable. Ilya Ehrenbourg hailed him as "the Chapaev of the Spanish Revolution." Unlike Chapaev, Campesino survived to recognize and reject the police state which adopted him.

In Moscow, Lister, Galan and Passionaria, fellow leaders in Madrid became jealous lickspittles, eager to turn the NKVD on anyone who questioned their policy of absolute subservience to the Russians. Campesino questioned it. The Russians tried to fit him out as an International Commander in a world-conquering Red Army. He wanted to start over as a guerrilla fighter in the slums of Madrid. His downfall was slow, since his reputation was high. A residual tenderness remained among Red Army officers but failed to keep him from the NKVD's torture cells. He was dragged, half alive from one prison and slave labor camp to another, indistinguishable in their sadism and bestiality from those of Hitler.

Yet there is wry humor in this book. When Franco's snipers began to recognize him, for example, Campesino decided to cut off his well known beard. The Central Committee of the Communist Party summoned him from the front to Madrid where they and two Russian generals explained that the beard was the property of the Spanish people and had to remain. He submitted. But his aides, convulsed with laughter, tied him down, hacked off the beard "and some of my skin with it," wrapped it up, and preserved it labelled *property of the Spanish people.*

In contrast, Campesino describes his months as undertaker of a "dung heap" of dead and half-dead prisoners in a slave labor camp in Siberia.

> It was not always easy to tell which of the inert bundles lying on the floor had no life in them and which were only waiting to die. It would happen, that as I bent down, the lips would move and whisper "Not yet" almost with regret.

Campesino symbolized the highest reach of communism's romantic appeal. He suffered the worst horrors of its awful reality. The contrasts make his book an ugly and convincing testament.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

ORIGIN OF REVOLUTION

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Harold R. Isaacs (Stanford University Press; $5).

FIRST PUBLISHED in Great Britain in 1938, this story of the second phase of the Chinese revolution describes the events from 1925 to 1927; the break of the Kuomintang-Communist alliance and the rise of Chiang Kai-shek's military dictatorship. Two new chapters, one summarizing the events to the present time, the other attempting to clarify the meaning of the whole course of the revolution thus far, take the place of a review of developments between 1927 and 1937 in the earlier edition.

The split between bourgeois progressivism and communism came sooner than most observers expected, and cut more deeply into the fabric of Chinese society. The traditionally authoritarian character of that society made it possible for Chiang to detach the large part of the revolutionary movement from its original aim without letting his followers know what he was doing. On the Communist side, after a period of confusion, the majority blindly followed one or another of the leading personalities—some to return into the fold of the Kuomintang; some to attempt an independent proletarian movement, mostly of industrial workers; some to accept the command of Russian and Moscow-trained Chinese leaders.

Harold R. Isaacs marshals much documentary evidence on the conflicting aims between the parties and within each party, and on the great variety of means, ranging from mass murder to cunning disguise of purpose. The events following what he calls "the prodigal's return" —the counter-revolution engineered by Chiang not only against Communism but against every spontaneous protest of workers or students—ranks among the most sordid periods in Chinese history. Compromise, blackmail and treachery mark the pages devoted to this episode.

The slow start of the anti-Kuomintang movement is explained partly by the crushing blows which Chiang and his bribed vassals inflicted upon his former comrades and partly by the indecision and plain incompetence in Communist ranks during the first two years. The movement's accumulating speed and eventual success Isaacs explains in part with the "essentially paternalistic character" of the Communist regime wherever it was well enough established to initiate practical reforms and to demonstrate socialized practices.

Such conclusions, however, are more often suggested than fully argued. As an eye-witness, Issacs is inclined to attach excessive importance to relations among individuals and the actions that spring from them. From the standpoint of Western morality, these relations, as he describes them, are lacking in basic loyalty and they are blackguards.

BRUNO LASKER

ACADEMIC FESTIVALS

by Robert Evett

CONTEMPORARY composers have to live with the unpleasant fact that more music is being composed than the commercial market warrants. Only a few living composers can be represented on the programs of professional performing artists, and the performers themselves are generally very sensitive to the changes of fashion that are so quickly reflected in box-office sales. Fortunately, endowed institutions have taken the responsibility of performing music which, for one reason or another, would be neglected without their help. Schools

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and colleges, which have been so notorious in the past for their stultifying effect on the arts, have shown an increasingly far-sighted attitude toward new work during the past few years. Their annual festivals frequently introduce music of the greatest importance which is not to be heard anywhere else, least of all in the metropolitan centers. Too often, these festivals have only a local or regional significance, perhaps because their scope or their publicity is not sufficient to attract general attention.

I recently attended such a festival at Cornell University, because I was interested in knowing about music which is not to be heard in New York. The expert Walden Quartet of the University of Illinois had been engaged, and introduced two works which we all should know. One was a set of variations by the young English composer Alan Rawsthorne. Most of us are conditioned to thinking of modern English music as the work of Vaughan Williams, Walton and Britten, and are ignorant of the output of the younger composers. Rawsthorne's piece showed an inventiveness and control of a dissonant idiom which is hard to relate to American notions of contemporary British style, but which helps to explain his eminence in his own country and in Europe. I wouldn't dare estimate Rawsthorne's general accomplishment on the basis of this one gratifying work, even in view of the honors he has received abroad, but I resent having to be more ignorant about his work than I am about some of his literary contemporaries—such as Dylan Thomas and George Barker. The many published Rawsthorne scores do not serve the function of the well-prepared, thoughtful performances that bring music to life. At Cornell, his music was given a wise, careful reading.

The Walden group also played an extended quartet in six movements by Geza Frid, a Hungarian-born composer who now lives in Holland. Frid shows a heavy influence of the Hungarian moderns, especially of Bartok; he makes use of Balkan folk melodies, conventional formal concepts, and a vast number of the sounding resources of the instruments at hand. Certain details of Frid's piece irritated me, but I was impressed by his seriousness and his ability to employ a wide variety of instrumental timbres. The performers read it with an authority that did credit to all concerned.

For me, the most important musical event in the festival was the premiere of Robert Palmer's *Chamber Concerto No. 1*, for violin and oboe solo and string orchestra. Palmer is one of those few composers who, by his extraordinary individuality, attracted considerable attention at the outset of his career, but has had to tolerate neglect since his maturity. The Guggenheim Fellowship which he has just received is only one of the honors which have been due him for a long time, and could be the beginning of the public recognition which he so well deserves—not only because he is a good craftsman, but because he has a strong and highly personal direction as well. The new score is complex and richly contrived, yet it is as disarming as a Brandenburg Concerto. Palmer has proved here that his talent is not only indestructible, but versatile as well in its present maturity.

All festivals must, apparently, include a few meaningless performances. At Cornell the Vaughan Williams Mass could have yielded the time to a less familiar work. A Kodaly Duo was revived for reasons that I don't pretend to understand. In spite of such oddities, the program seemed to be organized with rare intelligence and sensitivity.

Most festivals err by providing too much, and, in the process, lose all of their festive quality. Cornell very wisely devoted a whole week to all of the arts. There were only a few concerts. Exhibitions were borrowed from the Whitney Museum and the Museum of Modern Art; there were talks by Eric Bentley and Katherine Anne Porter, among others, a dance recital, film showings, and numerous events in which the faculty and students of the school participated. Because of this diversity, no single event had to yield its freshness to one which had come before. In this regard, Cornell has set an example which other schools would be wise to emulate, and I understand that some of them have already followed this valuable lead.

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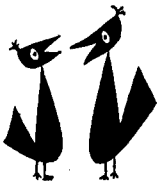

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